new masses

15¢ • in canada 20¢ dec. 2, 1947

ART AND LETTERS

Marx and Engels as Critics

by Sidney Finkelstein

NM PORTRAIT

Santo of the Transport Workers

by Lawrence Emery

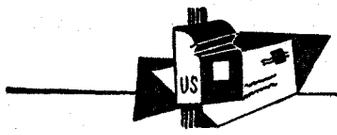
MARSHALL PLAN

Expansion, Inflation, Confusion

by James S. Allen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mail call



US-USSR Friendship

To New Masses: We want to be friends with Russia and the Russian people want to be friends with us. The tension was increasing up to recently, when it was relieved by Stalin's talk with the British labor delegation.

Our relations with the Soviet government are shrouded in a fog of misunderstanding as dense as the fog which prevented the pilot from seeing the great ship, Queen Elizabeth, off Sandy Hook. For twenty-five years our diplomatic course toward the Soviets has been tragically inept; it has caused the Russian leaders to suspect our motives. They have foolishly erected an iron curtain to keep us from knowing what is going on in Russia and what the people are thinking.

We in turn suspect that all is not well in Russia, that fear controls the people's thinking. The Russian representatives at the United Nations act like people under a reign of terror; they watch each other, they do not mix socially with our people, they do not go to lunch with them and their actions and words are exasperating and show the opposite of goodwill.

The Soviets should open wide the doors, allow correspondents and travellers to have every opportunity to see Russia and to know the people personally. We are sure they are lovable. Stalin's statement that the Russians desire peace and friendship is not in harmony with *Pravda's* campaign against our way of life. One wonders at the mentality of the Soviet leaders. They exhibit an inferiority complex in trying to keep conditions in Russia dark.

Friendly visitors have so much good to report that the way is open to build up respect and admiration. One great asset of the Russians is their freedom from race prejudice. They have made us conscious of how great a blot on our reputation the world over is our treatment of our Negroes and other minorities. That is the chief talking point of American Communists. They are serving a helpful purpose as gadflies to sting us to do away with discrimination and give equal opportunities.

The advances made by Russian scientists command our admiration. We realize what keen intellects they have, what clear observers and what patient researchers they have produced.

The pictures and the stories from Russia show them to be creative and out-giving.

World peace requires a foundation of goodwill. The education of young Russia is in the line of skills and of devoted service. The Constitution of the USSR is admirable. Religious liberty will surely develop such a feeling of brotherhood that we must recognize and respond to it.

Let us have peace and goodwill among all men!

William Jay Schieffelin.
New York.

We believe Mr. Schieffelin's criticisms of American policy toward the Soviet Union are much to the point. However, we do not think he is equally well informed about Soviet policy. Most unbiased observers agree that the Russian people are filled not with fear, but with great self-confidence, faith in the future and a deep desire for peace. Nor do we feel that the Soviet internal situation or Soviet policy can be gauged by whether Russian diplomats at the United Nations mix socially with American diplomats (incidentally, they do). By that kind of test how does Secretary of State Marshall fare in view of the fact that, according to "Newsweek" of October 20, leading correspondents at the UN are critical of him for failing to "humanize himself by mingling with other delegates"?

When the Soviet press attacks the American monopolies and their bipartisan Charlie McCarthys for their reactionary foreign policy, it is doing no more than progressive Americans did long before the birth of the USSR. There is no reason why progressive Americans today should abandon this admirable democratic tradition.

The facts about Russia are available to all who honestly and objectively want to obtain them. The darkness on the subject has been manufactured by the American State Department and the big business press and radio. We recommend the Dean of Canterbury's new book, "Soviet Russia Since the War."—The Editors.

Mother Jones

To New Masses: I am collecting material for a life of Mother Jones. Since her activities took her over the country and into most of the major labor struggles of half a century, many of your readers may have known and worked with her.

I would be very grateful for any letters from people who have known her and would especially like to see copies of letters to or from her. Such papers would be promptly and carefully returned.

Isabella Bailin.
47-06 46th St., Woodside, N. Y.

new masses

established 1911

VOLUME LXV, NUMBER 10

EDITORIAL BOARD:
STAFF: editor: JOSEPH NORTH. executive editor: A. B. MAGIL. managing editor: LLOYD L. BROWN. FREDERICK V. FIELD, JOHN STUART. art editor: CHARLES KELLER. assistant editors: JOSEPH FOSTER, CHARLES HUMBOLDT, BETTY MILLARD. ASSOCIATES: JAMES S. ALLEN, HERBERT APTHEKER, RICHARD O. BOYER, HOWARD FAST, WILLIAM GROPPER, V. J. JEROME, RALPH J. PETERS.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: LOUIS ARAGON • NATHAN AUSUBEL • LIONEL BERMAN • ALVAH BESSIE • DYSON CARTER W. E. B. DuBOIS • R. PALME DUTT • PHILIP EVERGOOD • SENDER GARLIN • BARBARA GILES • ROBERT GWATHMEY • ALBERT E. KAHN ROCKWELL KENT • ALFRED KREYMBORG • JOHN HOWARD LAWSON MERIDEL LE SUEUR • VITO MARCANTONIO • PABLO NERUDA ANTON REFREGIER • PAUL ROBESON • HOWARD SELSAM ISIDOR SCHNEIDER • SAMUEL SILLEN • JAMES TURNBULL CHARLES WHITE • DOXEY WILKERSON.

Expansion, Inflation, Confusion James S. Allen . 4
Gropper's Cartoon 5
How Marx and Engels Looked at Art Sidney Finkelstein 7
Santo of the TWU Lawrence Emery 10
Battle of the Ballots: Tides and Trends Arnold Johnson 12
Portside Patter Bill Richards 15
D. C. Dateline A. L. J. 16
Book Reviews: Trial of a Poet and Other Poems, by Karl Shapiro: Ralph Knight; Books for Children: Clara Ostrowsky 17
Films of the Week Dennis Gobbins 21
Theater Isidor Schneider 22

Two weeks' notice is requested for change of address. Notification sent to New Masses rather than the Post Office will give the best results. Vol. LXV, No. 10. Published weekly by The New Masses, Inc., 104 E. 9th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Copyright 1947, The New Masses, Inc. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission.

Entered as second-class matter June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $6.00 a year in U. S. and Possessions and Mexico; six months $3.50; three months $2.00. Foreign, $7.00 a year; six months $4.00; three months $2.25. In Canada $6.50 a year, $4.00 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20 cents Canadian money. New Masses welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelope.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letting you know...

"WHY," the man shouted on the other end of the phone, "didn't you let us know before?" He said that by this time we should know our readers realize the NM setup, that they know what makes the printing wheels go round, and he expressed surprise that we hadn't called on our readers before matters got so urgent. "I'm sending $20," he said, "and we're having some friends over Saturday night. We'll let them know how things are at NM and they'll kick in too.

"You're a crusading magazine," he said. "Crusade for funds too. We won't hold it against you."

The more we think about it, the more we like that man. The censensus here is that he speaks the mind of most NM readers and we're taking him at his word. We're crusading. Have you sent that check yet? If you have, then you're helping save NM and also helping us put over the various changes in the magazine that we've charted. We can, at this writing, give you some idea of the road we're traveling: we'll be announcing other changes as we go along.

As usual, life is more complex with our publication than with practically any other. No other weekly in America tries to give as much as ours: politics, culture, cartoons, short stories, reportage, economic analyses, science, poetry. Just look through some of our contemporaries some time and you'll see what we mean. As usual, we've got to move on more fronts than one, and all at once. Here is the first of a series of announcements describing our course:

ITEM: We are scheduling a regular weekly comment and analysis on key domestic and world developments. In an early issue we will announce the name of one of America's foremost political commentators who will write a weekly piece on the hottest of current developments that affect your daily life.

ITEM: We are proud to announce that Sidney Finkelstein, author of the widely praised book, *Art and Society,* will soon join our regular working staff. All that is happening in the fields of letters and the arts is grist to his mill, which will operate regularly in these pages.

ITEM: We will institute an important new column on cultural developments in our Review and Comment section. Conducted by Finkelstein and Charles Humboldt, it will, in addition to their reflections, include those of your favorite writers and critics.

ITEM: John Stuart is in Europe today not only to send his reporting from that turbulent continent: he is also signing up regular correspondents for NM from the leading capitals. You will not only be getting Claude Morgan's letters from Paris, and Derek Kartun's from London, but also correspondence from men of similar caliber in Belgrade, Rome and elsewhere.

ITEM: That piece you read from Nanking last week is the beginning, we are happy to announce, of regular correspondence from China. And, shortly, you will hear from other capitals on other continents in these pages regularly.

ITEM: If we survive the crisis, and you will see to that, we will go to an enlarged size. Among other things this will afford us the possibility of giving you more cartoons and drawings by America's foremost artists.

And there will be more—much more.

To do all this, however, requires a magazine: in other words, NM must be guaranteed life. That, at this moment, can only be guaranteed if you respond immediately to our emergency financial appeal. To survive, NM must have that $10,000 by Christmas, the additional $5,000 before January 15.

To improve a magazine you must have a magazine: that's up to you.

Though NM plans for a life more abundant, more vivid, the specter haunts us. Your immediate response will drive that specter from these doors.

NM's life, its future, is in your hands.

THE EDITORS.

To NEW MASSES
104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed please find $.....as my contribution to your drive for $15,000 by January 15. In addition I pledge to donate $.....

by.....
(date)

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone..... State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXPANSION, INFLATION, CONFUSION

One Marshall Plan, a piece of Germany, a pinch of "price control"— the cooks know what they're making, but what about their helpers?

By JAMES S. ALLEN

INFLATION, the Marshall Plan and the German settlement are now thrown all at once into the boiling cauldron of political debate. If confusion has been an outstanding characteristic of the domestic scene, we now have it with a vengeance. And while the Right continues to stumble over its own inner contradictions, what hurts most is the confusion among many progressives. For while the reactionaries know where they are going, and amidst all the turmoil are pushing their specific objectives, confusion continues to block the gathering of democratic forces which alone can stop the march toward reaction and war.

There is, first, the debate set off by the President's message to the special session of Congress. Senators Taft and Byrd, heading the attack for the more reactionary wings of the two major parties, turn against the President his own phrase of only a few weeks back that price controls and rationing, even if partial and provisional, lead to the "police state." Like most of the Republican stalwarts, Taft wants the essence of the Marshall Plan, but dislikes the idea of big business bearing any part of the burden. Therefore his opposition to measures that might even in the slightest interfere with the freedom of the trusts to exploit to the full at home and abroad.

Onto the scene marches Max Lerner of *PM*, with his crusade for practically unconditional support for both the Marshall Plan and the President's "anti-inflation" program. According to him these are "insoluably tied together." But in the same week Harold Laski, who may be considered the political mentor of Mr. Lerner, writes in *The Nation* that the Marshall Plan leads toward civil war and a new world conflict. What does it matter if Lerner and Taft are deeply at odds on government price controls when they find themselves in the same bed with the Marshall Plan, although each insists that it is something else, and there is a matter of a few billion to be settled between them?

To pursue this particular confusion further, there is as odd a combination as can be found anywhere in the Citizens Committee for the Marshall Plan, which has just been set up under the chairmanship of Henry L. Stimson. One wonders what strange offspring will result from the crowd of ill-mated pairs that seek shelter in this Noah's Ark. A long-time professional pacifist like Clark M. Eichelberger is mated with Robert L. Patterson, who has played so prominent a role in the militarization of the country and now heads the executive committee of the new organization. One wonders what fundamental principles offer common meeting ground for James P. Warburg and George N. Shuster, who presumably hold opposite views on Germany. Or how Philip Murray and Jacob S. Potofsky of the CIO can embrace Matthew Woll and David Dubinsky of the AFL right wing; and how these and other labor leaders on the committee can line up with Winthrop W. Aldrich of the Chase National Bank and Philip D. Reed of General Electric. If, as Lerner says, Truman's "anti-inflation" program is the warp and woof of the Marshall Plan, imagine if you can how this collection of incompatibles can find a common approach to wages, profits, price controls and rationing.

PLOT!

Washington **— Maj. Gen. Manton S. Eddy, Army information chief, charged that sinister forces are trying to drag the Army's name "in the mud" by smearing military officers. Another high-ranking officer said the reference was to the Communists and disclosed that Army Intelligence has possession of the "ugly" evidence.**

(It is reliably reported that Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers (ret.) will reveal sensational details of the plot during his forthcoming trial.)

THE fact of the matter is that a genuine anti-inflation program cannot be tied to the Marshall Plan, which is a program of aggressive expansion. If it were possible to view the President's control program in isolation, apart from the over-all policy, it might then be considered an important beginning toward the kind of government measures that are needed. Aside from the central and overriding consideration of foreign policy, the trouble with Truman's program is not, as Taft and Byrd charge, that it means the "end of economic freedom." On the contrary, the program does not provide effective means for restricting the "economic freedom" of big business to keep prices and profits up and wages down.

Inflation cannot be fought by singling out only a few items for control, for this will send prices skyrocketing on uncontrolled items and create new shortages. And if even this partial and inadequate plan is attempted without rolling back prices and raising wages, so that a minimum stable standard of living can be established as the floor of the control scheme, the workers and lower-income groups will have to pay heavily while the upper strata will fatten on inflated profits. Labor is in no mood to forego its demand for a third round of wage increases in the vague hope that a Republican Congress will approve these inconclusive control proposals as an election device.

At least the Taft-Byrd cohorts have the virtue of consistency in fighting controls that will interfere with inflation profits. Taft presented the position clearly in a speech following the President's message. He is riding the spend-less program for all it is worth when larger government expenditures are needed for urgent relief abroad (not *a la* Marshall Plan), and for social measures at home as a precau-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

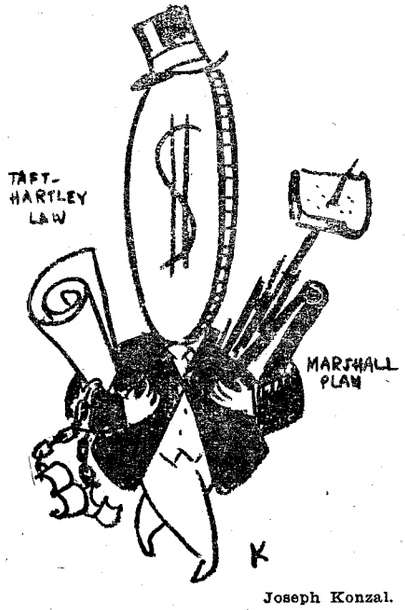
tion against the coming crisis. He urges tax reduction (especially for big business) when what is needed is higher taxes on corporations and the upper brackets, and reduced taxes for the lower-income groups. He would limit exports (in favor of building up American-controlled industries in Germany and elsewhere) when they should be expanded for relief and reconstruction without political discrimination, and also as an anti-depression measure. He would roll back wages rather than prices, while leaving the profit bonanza of big business untouched.

But does Truman offer an effective rejoinder to this policy? He does not and he cannot just as long as his "anti-inflation" scheme is geared to the Marshall Plan. For the question is not control in general, or whether specific proposals are more or less perfect. The question is: control for what? Are these controls to be used to establish a war economy or are they to be placed in the service of a policy of peace and economic security?

The answer is not to be found in the nature and extent of economic controls, but in the nature and direction of our foreign policy. If this continues to provoke civil war in favor of reaction and to line up a war bloc, then the President's control program is no longer essentially anti-inflation, although it has some meaning in this sense. Its more important meaning, alongside military and industrial mobilization already in process, is the organization of a war economy.

This is the basis of the confusion within democratic and progressive circles. No amount of courting and maneuvering for favor among labor and progressive elements can alter the basic intent of the Marshall Plan. Painting rosy pictures of it, which has become a passion in some circles "left of center" (if this term still has meaning), will not change the Marshall Plan, but will only spread confusion and deception. Walter Lippmann must be keeping a stiff upper lip and hiding a smirk when he writes the Marshall Plan is "a mighty engine designed to recreate the unity of Europe, and heal its divisions, and in the end to restore peace." Apparently Lerner also desperately wants people to believe this, setting up a Potemkin Village of cardboard facades on which anti-inflation demagogy embroiders an idyllic picture of world recovery under the auspices of the American trusts.

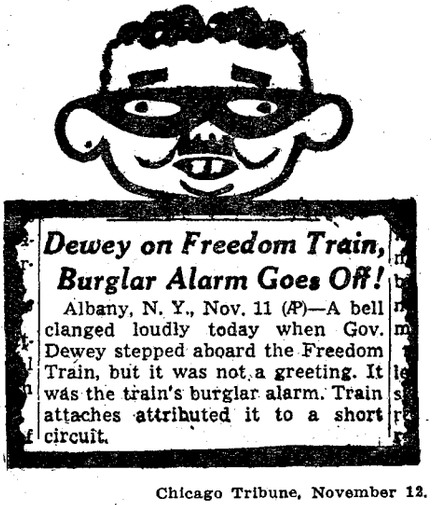
If perchance the real meaning



Joseph Konzal.

of the Marshall Plan has until now remained vague even to those who should know better, the bulky reports of the Harriman, Krug and Nourse committees, and preliminary Congressional hearings, should leave little unanswered. It is now accepted form, whether in a report or in a President's message, to speak of the sixteen West European nations "and western Germany." Little doubt remains that the intent is to base the West European bloc on building up the Ruhr, as the springboard for the restoration of monopoly capital in Europe under American auspices.

The political shape of the Marshall Plan is seen in de Gaulle and in an older version in Greece, where American officers now lead the Greek armies fighting the partisans. It is seen in the interim relief program, which concentrates on saving reaction in France, Italy and Austria, not to speak of the additional funds requested for Chiang Kai-shek. Its real meaning is emphasized by Harriman, one of the prime movers in the entire program, when he tells a Congressional committee that aid to any country coming under "Soviet domination" should be terminated at once, but that it should be extended to any country turning against the Soviet Union. Stassen rallied his Republicans with the same battle cry when he told a Denver audience that an immediate embargo should be imposed upon shipments of machine tools and heavy industrial goods to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, unless an agreement is reached on American terms.



Dewey on Freedom Train, Burglar Alarm Goes Off!

Albany, N. Y., Nov. 11 (AP)—A bell clanged loudly today when Gov. Dewey stepped aboard the Freedom Train, but it was not a greeting. It was the train's burglar alarm. Train attaches attributed it to a short circuit.

Chicago Tribune, November 12.

It is true that in his Chicago speech last week Secretary Marshall tentatively left the door ajar for negotiations with the Soviet Union at the London conference of Foreign Ministers. But how much of this is real, and how much double-talk? On top of his "tough" words aimed at the Soviet Union, and his talk about restoring Germany as part of European recovery, he also spoke about using the Ruhr products "for the good of the European community as a whole," and of reaching an agreement to set up a provisional central government for Germany.

Can Marshall's mind be open to a settlement, as he claims, if in preparation for the conference every step has been taken to swing into action a full program for splitting Germany and imposing a separate peace? If American policy is to take a significant turn in the direction of the Roosevelt program much more will be necessary than these suave diplomatic efforts at dressing the Marshall Plan with the best of intentions. Like the king in the famous story it will remain naked, except for those who insist in placing the raiment of their fertile imagination upon it.

As long as the Marshall Plan remains what it is Truman's anti-inflation program will be tied to it, and not the other way around. They will be tied together and placed like a halter around our neck to pull the war chariot. Yes, control for what? The fascist state also used strict economic controls to achieve its end. Progressives need to place the thing on its feet, and look at it squarely. From the confusion among them, only reaction gains, for this confusion prevents the gathering of the democratic front against fascism and war.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW MARX AND ENGELS LOOKED AT ART

They saw it as a means to create human feelings corresponding to the richness of man and nature.

By SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

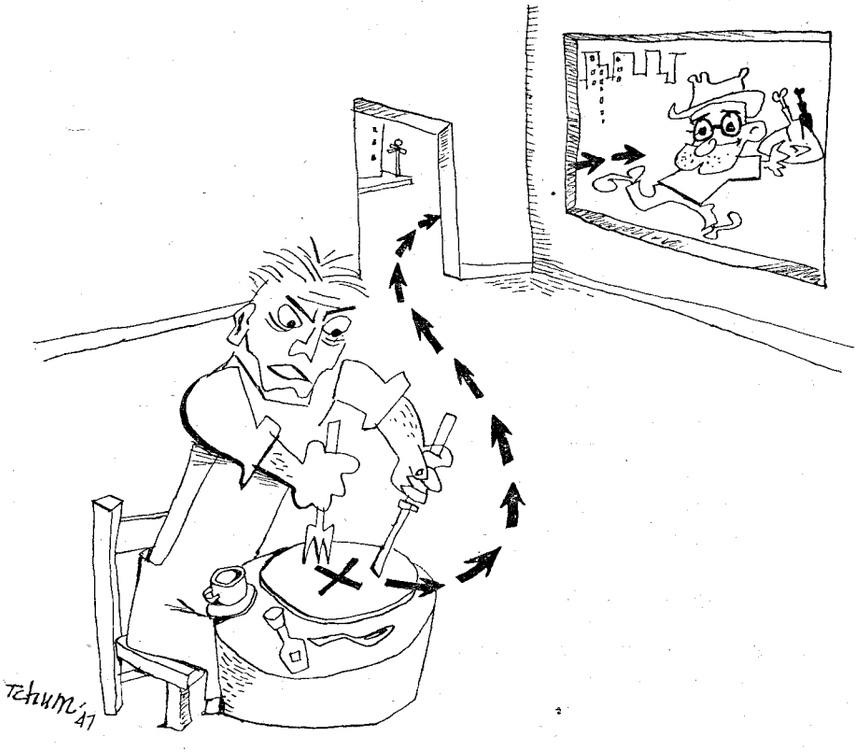
THE failure of Marx and Engels to write a complete treatise on esthetics was not due to any lack of interest in the arts. They were men of the widest cultural knowledge and enjoyment. Both their love and their breadth of knowledge of the arts and the acuteness of their insights can be seen in the modernity of a new collection of their writings on literature and art.* There have been more rapid-fire changes of style in the arts, and theorizing about them, in the last fifty years than in the entire previous three centuries. Our knowledge of the arts, their materials, history and origins, has also increased by leaps and bounds. Yet *Literature and Art* provides us with the key to understand the problems in art of our own time as well as the art of past ages. To cover even sketchily the wealth of material here would go far beyond the limits of this article. What I will try to do is to indicate, on the basis of some of these excerpts, something of the nature of the materialist approach to the arts.

The basis for the materialist approach is laid down by Marx in a famous passage of *A Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy*: "In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society —the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life processes in general."

Again, Marx and Engels say in *The German Ideology*: "Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the product of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness but consciousness by life."

These paragraphs outline a truly revolutionary approach, opposed to those histories of the arts and theories of esthetics which describe the arts as autonomous, developing solely according to their own fancied inner laws of form, according to some theories growing from simple to complex and to other theories rising and falling in mysterious waves. For Marx and Engels, art does not change of itself. Man changes, because his conditions of life change. And because man changes, art changes.

But these passages, more often known at second- rather than first-hand, have also been widely misinterpreted. On the one hand anti-Marxists accuse Marxists of being materialists who have no respect for the beauty of art, and seek only an immediate, concrete utility. This is similar to those idiotic and always hostile literary depictions of the future socialist state as a gigantic scientific machine with people treated as cogs in the wheels. And on the other hand, there are would-be Marxists who make a one-to-one relationship between modes of production and art, as if art were to be considered only a manufactured commodity, or a kind of imaginative code for discussing economic theories. The passages above mean nothing of the sort. Art, to Marx and Engels, was a product and reflection of man's consciousness of himself, of his relations to nature, and of his relations to his fellow human beings. Man's changing modes of production, his constantly growing new tools and powers, his revolutionary change of



* LITERATURE AND ART, *selections from the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. International.* $1.85.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his social institutions to suit his growing needs and abilities, all made for changes in his knowledge of himself, his control over nature, his ability to organize better his relations to his fellow human beings. And these changes in man's consciousness appeared as changes in his art. Marx and Engels in no way demeaned art. They glorified art by glorifying man.

IF ART is thus subject, in its movement, to the movement of society, it is nevertheless an activity subject to its own laws, different from philosophy, science, law and the other expressions of man's consciousness. Marx says, "Man also creates according to the laws of beauty." And Engels talks repeatedly of "esthetic" values, as different from "moral," "partisan" and "historical." Yet in explaining esthetic qualities, or the laws of "beauty," Marx and Engels also applied the materialist approach, with most illuminating results.

Engels says, in his introduction to *Dialectics of Nature*, "Only by labor, by adaptation to ever new operations . . . and by the ever-renewed employment of these inherited improvements in new, more and more complicated operations, has the human hand attained the high degree of perfection that has enabled it to conjure into being the pictures of Raphael, the statues of Thorwaldsen, the music of Paganini."

And Marx says, "The formation of the five senses is the history of the entire world up to now. Senses limited by crudely practical needs have only a narrow meaning. . . . The worried, poverty-stricken man has no mind for the finest play; the dealer in metals sees only the market value, not the beauty and originality of the metal. . . . Hence the objectivization of human existence, both in a theoretical and practical way, means making man's *senses human* as well as creating human *senses* corresponding to the vast richness of human and natural life."

Art is an extension of man's senses, a development of his ability to shape and control nature. Its special "esthetic" quality is no mysterious sixth sense, or realization of "pure form," but the sensitivity that, arising out of man's labor and productive relationships with nature, in turn enriches his perceptions of the world and mankind. It is a continuation on a new level of the same kind of activity that gave rise to the invention of the hammer, plough and sail, a qualitative change in the coordination of man's muscle, eye and brain. Thus Marx and Engels solve the dilemma in which traditional estheticians find themselves. These are torn between the belief that beauty is purely subjective, that any man can find anything beautiful, and the belief that beauty is purely objective, a recognition of some mysteriously perfect form. Marx and Engels, through their materialist approach, show what the appreciation of beauty, and therefore art, really is. It is neither purely subjective nor objective, but both, being a relationship between man and nature. It is objective in that it rests on the appreciation of sensuous qualities that have a real, objective existence outside of man. At the same time this appreciation must be developed in man, through his growing ability to do things with nature, to free himself by controlling nature fruitfully. As long as man lived in terror of nature, it was impossible for him to find any part of it beautiful. As man increased his powers, his consciousness of beauty changed. But these changes are not exclusively subjective or personal. They become part of the social heritage of all humanity.

And so art itself is not merely a passive record of man's sensations, an imitation of nature, or a manipulation of pure forms. It is an activity, a means of making the natural world a part of man's living and thinking: in Marx's words, of "humanizing nature." Out of man's increased sensitivity to nature and ability to manipulate it have come the great communicative languages of line and color, of musical sound, of spoken and written word. The works of art of one age become the language commonplaces of another, and these become the basis for a new, immensely richer art. In such a manner, the artistry of primitive picture writing became the "unartistic" letters of the written alphabet, and these in turn made possible the new, immense riches of written literature. As man's consciousness grows beyond his immediate surroundings to take in a greater expanse of nature, and a more comprehensive pattern of society, art as well takes on a content of his wider understanding and discovery. Art is based on truth, but it is something more. It combines truth with the excitement of discovering truth.

THUS, as Marx points out, we can enjoy works of a past, outdated civilization such as that of the ancient Greeks, reflecting as they do a "childhood" of humanity. They embody, within the mixture of fine insights and incomplete knowledge, the beauty of thought and discovery, the record of exultant growth that is still basic to man's being. Because history is a product of class struggle, art embodies the ideology of a social class. But to deduce from this that art can be simply classi-

I HAVE TRIED TO DO GOOD

By J. Pierpont Morgan

"I do not remember that in my whole life I ever wilfully misrepresented anything to anybody at any time. I have never knowingly had connection with a fraudulent scheme. I have tried to do good in this world, not harm, as my enemies would have the world believe. I have helped men and have attempted in my humble way to be of some service to my country."

(Reprinted by NM as a public service from the December issue of Hearst's "Good Housekeeping.")

COMING SOON IN NM

The recent death of Sidney Webb (Lord Passfield) brought to a close the remarkable career of a man who, together with his wife, the late Beatrice Webb, developed from a chronicler and theoretician of Fabian socialism into a keen and appreciative exponent of socialism as it exists in the Soviet Union. A distinguished American friend of the Webbs, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, co-author of *Red Medicine: Socialized Health in Soviet Russia,* has written an article for NEW MASSES on this unique couple. Dr. Kingsbury, who knew the Webbs for many years, quotes from correspondence with them never before made public. Watch for it.

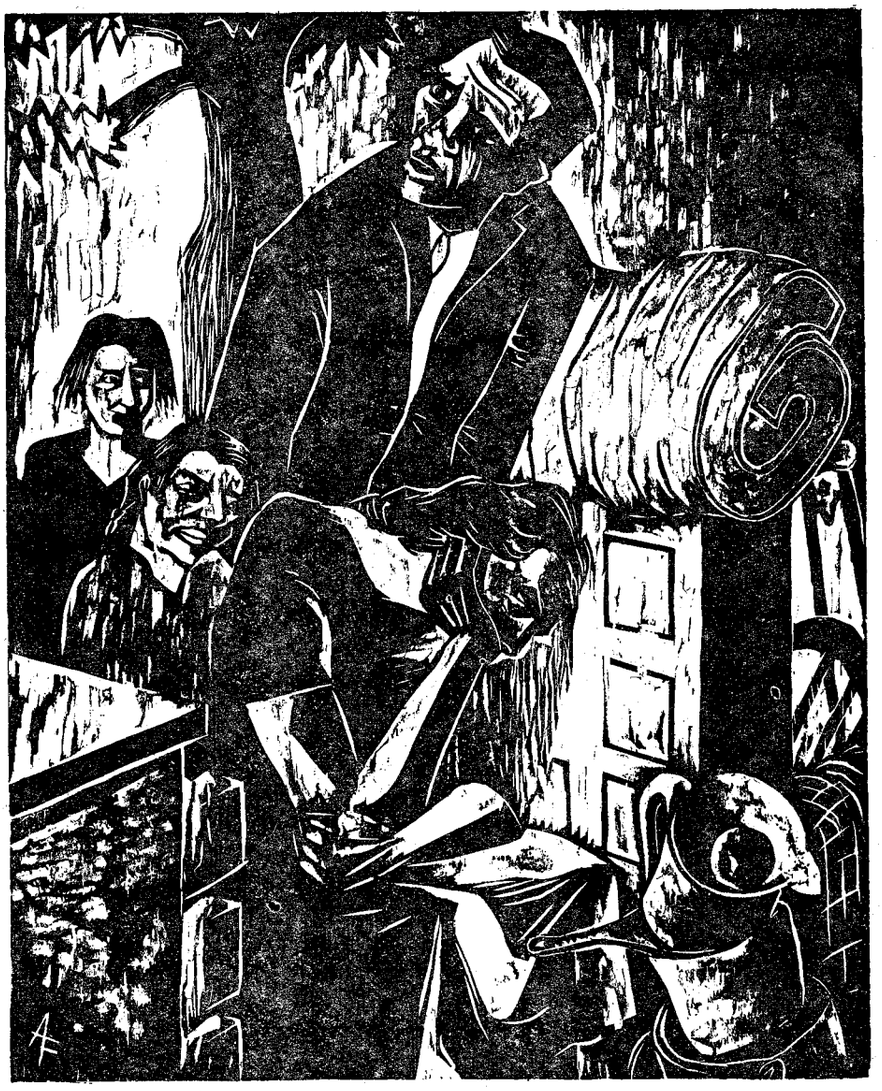
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fied and dismissed as "feudal," or "bourgeois," is un-Marxist. A class struggling for power employs all the new vistas that have been opened up for man's knowledge and control of nature. Even though this class may hold within itself a reactionary future, its revolutionary contributions to the knowledge of reality are lasting ones. Thus art may be class-inspired and still a permanent enlargement of man's horizons.

The fact that art, like the other forms of ideology, is only a reflection of changes that take place in the real world of production does not mean that it is not a force for change. It is a powerful force. Arising as it does out of class conflicts that take place when man's new productive powers no longer fit the social pattern that controls production, art, and other forms of ideology, become "forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out." (*A Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy.*) Consciousness is in itself a weapon, for it means the difference between man's ability to control nature and his economy or his enslavement to them. And just as man's ideas arise out of real problems that he faces and out of his attempts to solve them, so the most profound and world-embracing ideas arise out of the deepest, most fundamental problems, those of class conflict. A progressive class, struggling for power, must call upon all of man's newly-discovered powers, and knowledge of reality. A reactionary class, struggling to retain power, must shut down upon knowledge, art and thought itself. A great artist of the past is not judged in terms of how he fits our present morality or understanding of society. Marx says, in another part of the same treatise quoted above, "Mankind always sets itself such tasks as it can solve." Thus we judge art by the consciousness it gave men of their own problems, within the bounds of whatever solution was possible in those times.

Such an approach enabled Marx and Engels to see the geniuses of art as even greater men than the idealist critics would make of them, at the same time as they dissected and exposed for the empty minds they were all the pretentious windbags and petty literateurs who sold themselves, body and mind, to the ruling classes of their time. In the discussion by both Marx and Engels of Shakespeare, we find no quibbles as to why Shakespeare did not take up the cause of the dispossessed peasantry, or criticize the institution of monarchy. Shakespeare's accomplishment was that he gave his age a full consciousness of man's personality, and of the manner in which the interaction of social classes made up the movement of history; a consciousness which up to his time was not fully present in literature, and after his time became common property. It was for the completeness of his presentation of social classes, and the accuracy with which he represented each class in its own psychology and typical imagery, that Engels prized Shakespeare as a dramatist above Schiller. Writing to Ferdinand Lassalle in appreciation and criticism of a poetic drama Lassalle had composed, Engels said, "You would have to Shakespearize more, while I consider Schillerism—making individuals the mere mouthpieces of the spirit of the times—your main fault." A later letter explains further. "Shakespeare should not be forgotten for Schiller; the introduction of the remarkably many-sided plebian society of the time would lend entirely new material to enliven the play, would give an invaluable background for the action on the proscenium of the national movement of the nobility, would first throw the proper light on this very movement." The expression of correct sentiments is not enough. A work of art must expand man's understanding of the world he is in, in terms of the real forces through which the world functions and changes.

This is the first part of a two-part article. The second will appear next week.



"Without Home," woodcut by Antonio Frasconi. Part of a one-man exhibition of paintings and prints at the New School for Social Research through December 14.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SANTO of the TWU

Who is this "dangerous" union leader they want to deport? What is his record? An NM portrait.

By LAWRENCE EMERY

IT WAS 1941 and the great bus strike had been won by the Transport Workers Union. It was the first and only strike conducted by the union in New York City, it was the only transit strike in New York City that had been without violence, it was the only transit strike in the city's history that had ever been successful. And some men were very bitter about it. One of them, John A. Ritchie, chairman of the board of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company and the New York City Omnibus Corporation, was vindictive. Shortly after the strike John Santo, a founder of the union, its secretary-treasurer and a leader of the strike, was arrested and held for deportation as an undesirable alien.

Santo decided that he could best fight his case without embarrassment to the union by resigning his post. At a night session of the TWU's third convention on Friday, Sept. 26, 1941, he announced that he was not a candidate for any office. He saw fit not to explain why; he simply asked the delegates to believe in him.

They were stunned. Mark Kavanaugh, one of the old stalwarts of the union, a tough, solid man, got up and said, "I feel as if the bottom has fallen out of our union. . . . Please God he will be back with us soon, whenever his job is finished and his task is done."

President Mike Quill declared that the union itself "will stand here as a monument to him while he is away."

Irish bagpipers shrilled their way to the stage and skirled him a farewell. The Ladies' Auxiliary gave him flowers. And Paul Muschalik, hardened in years of battles, got up and said: "I left my home way back in 1914. I was not a model son. It was a peculiar thing when my father died. I got a telegram from my mother and she called for only one son. That was me. I said, 'Mom, we are suffering a loss; dad is dead. That is nature's course. I won't cry if you won't.' And I didn't, neither did she. But today when Faber said Santo was leaving, believe it or not, I left this hall and cried. . . . I couldn't help it."

It was to be nearly four years before Santo would come back. The bottom did not fall out of the union: the organization and its leadership was too solid for that. But clearly he would be missed.

JOHN SANTO is of medium height, slim and well-built. He looks younger than his thirty-nine years, even though his curly black hair shows signs of graying. He is quiet and reserved and he speaks slowly and softly. Harry Sacher, the union's counsel, says of him that "he is sober and conservative and decidedly not hotheaded." He is almost always puffing reflectively at a pipe, which gives him the appearance of a wise and friendly philosopher. "When he gets that pipe in his mouth and talks to you," a union member has said, "it gives you a certain amount of calm in your being, and you sit there and know that you speak to a man that knows what it is all about."

The only place Santo ever raises his voice is on the speaker's platform. He is a persuasive speaker, frequently a fiery one, and transit workers delight in his oratory, particularly since it is delivered in a fine brogue almost as rich as Mike Quill's own. It is not an affectation: he mastered the English language while working with New York transit workers, eighty-five percent of whom are Irish, and the accent is legitimate.

John Santo was born on May 13, 1908, in the little town of Timisoara in Transylvania, part of Hungary then but ceded to Rumania after World War I. His father was killed in the war in 1918 and at the age of ten the boy became the man of the house. A bright youngster who learned easily and well, he supported his mother, a younger brother and a sister with the sums he earned tutoring fellow students who flunked their courses.

He graduated from high school in 1926. A year later an uncle in the United States paid his passage here. With a student's visa and an ambition to become an engineer, he entered this country and enrolled in the Crane Technical High School and Junior College in Chicago. But he attended school for only one month. "My uncle had a large family," he says, "and he wasn't too prosperous. I felt that I shouldn't impose upon him. I went to work to make enough money to pay for my own education."

As an apprentice in an auto plant he earned ten cents an hour. He abandoned that to become a busboy for fifty cents a day and his meals. No great fund for tuition accumulated at that rate, so he became a machinist's helper for fifty cents an hour. And then it was 1929; the stock market crashed and so did his hopes for a formal education. But the jobless and hungry years taught him things he would never have learned at the Crane Technical High School and Junior College. His main lesson: only organization could give a working man a bid for security and a better life. In 1934 he began to talk organization to New York City's transit workers.

THE men who ran the subways and streetcars and buses worked twelve hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year. Their wages ranged from $15 to $22 a week. They paid dues to company unions. And they paid three percent of their earnings into a sham pension plan that was operated as a racket. On the job and off they were watched by stoolpigeons organized into "Beakie Departments" directed by the late master strikebreaker Pearl Bergoff. Behind them was an unbroken record of crashing defeats of every previous attempt to form a union. Controlling this jungle of exploitation were America's two greatest and most pow-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Santo.

erful fortunes: the BMT belonged to the House of Rockefeller and the IRT belonged to the House of Morgan.

On April 12, 1934, seven men walked into Stewart's cafeteria at 59th Street and Broadway, ordered coffee and doughnuts, and at a quiet table in a far corner decided to form an industrial union of the transit workers. Four of these men were Mike Quill, John Santo, Austin Hogan and Douglas MacMahon. Their tools: faith in the men they sought to organize, confidence in their own abilities, and guts.

They were as tough-minded and as hard-handed as any men who had ever dug a subway with pick and shovel, as Mike himself had done when he first came here from Ireland, but they were dreamers, too. Later Santo was to tell a union convention that "ever since the inception of the human race, people like you and me have dreamed dreams. In every age and in every century human beings like us were looking for a good life. . . ."

In the early days they met in secret with small groups of workers whenever and wherever they could. Often some of them walked because they didn't have carfare to ride the lines they sought to organize. Mike Quill then was a ticket agent; he worked his twelve hours a day for the company, then worked as many hours as he could stay awake for the dream of a union. "We used to meet in saloons and hallways, in basements and on rooftops," he says. "I remember one meeting under a bridge in Central Park. On that occasion, when Brother Santo said, 'One night we will meet in Madison Square Garden,' we pinched each other for fear that John was suffering the effects of overwork."

Three years later the Transport Workers Union packed Madison Square Garden. It had 40,000 members and was the elected bargaining representative of the employes of the IRT, the BMT, the Third Avenue Railway, the New York City Omnibus, the Fifth Avenue Coach, the East Side Comprehensive System and the Triboro Coach.

John L. Lewis sent a message to the Madison Square Garden meeting: "There may have been somewhere, sometime, a better record of accomplishments than the record made by the Transport Workers Union, but I do not know of any. I know of no parallel accomplishment on the part of a newly-formed union, on the part of newly-elected officers, in the face of great opposition, than the accomplishment of your officers, your union and your membership."

Today the union has 100,000 members in every part of the United States and in Hawaii and Alaska.

IN TRYING to explain and define the kind of a man John Santo is, his intimates and associates invariably make use of the word "wisdom." Santo himself, addressing the delegates to the union's second convention in 1939, said: "There is nothing more precious to my mind in human life than wisdom. Wisdom is a rare gift. . . . Human wisdom comes from an inner struggle with ourselves in groping for the right path, the path of justice, the path of honor, the path of workers' solidarity, the path of a better America and a better world. . . ."

In 1937 wisdom was needed when the union entered its first negotiations with the transit companies. For forty-two years the transit workers had sought to establish union conditions of work. They had struck in 1895, in 1896, in 1905, in 1912, in 1916, in 1920 and in 1926. Each time they were defeated with force and violence and their organization smashed. But in 1937 the TWU negotiating committee, headed by Santo, achieved a ten percent increase in wages, two weeks' vacation with pay, a six-day week and a closed shop on the IRT without a strike.

A year later Santo negotiated similar contracts with the Third Avenue Railway, the Fifth Avenue Coach and New York City Omnibus.

"He is patient and resourceful in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

negotiations," says Harry Sacher, who has sat in on all union conferences with the companies. "He is brilliant, analytical and shrewd. He has always been a balance wheel. Outstanding in the life of the TWU is the fact that it has dealt with the most reactionary employers in the country and has had only one strike during its existence. Peace in the transit industry is due wholly to the union, and due largely to Santo. Today he enjoys a tremendous regard on the part of the employers. They recognize in him a stabilizing force for industrial peace."

In 1932 the IRT, then in receivership, cut wages by ten percent and instituted a compulsory three percent contribution from employes' earnings for a pension plan which until then had been voluntary and revocable. Two years later when the TWU made its first appearance Santo began a careful study of the company's financial position. He decided that the pension plan was the weakest spot in the entire structure. He made a painstaking analysis of the plan itself and concluded that it was financially unsound and could not discharge its obligations to the workers who were forced to contribute to it. Further study confirmed this. But Santo was patient.

Battle of the Ballots:

Tides and Trends

ON THE day after the recent elections the Republicans pointed to Philadelphia and the Democrats looked at Kentucky—and declared there were trends for victory in '48. The most significant advance of progressives was the high voting power displayed by the new Progressive Party in Chicago. And a surprise to the Red-baiters was that the Communists were able to hold their own in all cities in which they ran candidates; in Cleveland they polled 64,264 votes in the school board race, the highest the party ever received in that city.

The significant feature in Kentucky was not that a Democrat, Earl Clements, was elected governor, but that Clements was known as a New Deal Congressman who had voted against the Taft-Hartley bill and had the support of the CIO and AFL. The other important development among Democratic candidates was that Rep. John Rankin, seeking to replace the late Bilbo in the Senate, was decisively repudiated by the Mississippi voters and relegated to a poor fifth place. Thus the election showed that voters want something besides a party label. In a number of places a trend emerged toward progressive candidates.

The major defeat for progressives was the repeal of proportional representation in New York City. Yet at the same time the voting strength of the American Labor Party continued upward; and in the districts where the ALP had its own candidates the increase was greatest. This is significant in view of the efforts of Boss Ed Flynn and other Democratic Party rulers to isolate the ALP through a full-scale Red-baiting campaign. With the repeal of PR the Tammany Tiger is out to rule and ruin. This may well create a situation for a new coalition of the ALP with other forces.

In San Francisco, Congressman Frank R. Havenner, the candidate of a united labor movement, polled 101,408 votes in the mayoralty race, but lost to Elmer Robinson, Republican, by 15,529 votes. Robinson was Hearst's candidate and he conducted a demagogic campaign. The real defeat in this battle was given to Chester MacPhee, who received 60,508 votes as the candidate of the reactionary Lapham administration. There were weaknesses and mistakes in the Havenner campaign, but it represented the growth of new progressive alliances which will be even more advanced for the 1948 elections.

The most publicized figures do not always provide the key to the future. It is important to know all the facts which made twenty-five Indiana cities turn from the Republicans to the Democrats, swelling the total of Democratic cities to fifty-three. It is significant that the Democrats won the Buffalo city council and former Republican strongholds such as Schenectady, Syracuse and Niagara Falls. The results in forty-three New York cities gave seventeen to the Republicans, thirteen to the Democrats, nine to a coalition of the ALP with the Democrats and Republicans, two nonpartisan, and the mayor of Johnstown was elected as a "Progressive." The elections in 137 Connecticut towns and small cities on October 7 resulted in twenty cities changing from Republican to Democrat. At that time, Norwalk gave its Socialist candidate for mayor more than the combined votes of the Republican and Democratic nominees. That trend was continued on November 4 with the notable exception of Waterbury, which switched to the Republicans.

THESE changes do not indicate firm partisan lineups for '48, but rather an unstable and fluid situation. The efforts of the two-party salesmen are to restrict thinking and action to the Republican and Democratic machines, but the people often rebel against such restrictions. This fluidity was also demonstrated in many primaries such as those in Cleveland, Dayton and Gary.

The big news about Detroit was not the mayoralty race and not even the victories of the councilmen, but the votes of certain defeated council candidates. The top winner was an incumbent, George Edwards, of the CIO, with 260,903. The lowest candidate of the nine elected received 169,302. The significant results were: Stanley Nowak, a well-known pro-Wallace progressive, 119,164; Charles Hill, an aggressive Negro leader, 105,903; and Tracy Doll of the CIO, 100,371. Such votes as those of Nowak and Hill would go upward with a powerful national leader. They represent new and growing forces.

In Ohio there have been many developments which show new trends. Democratic Mayor Tom Burke of Cleveland won a landslide victory. In the primaries, however, Edward Pucell, an insurgent Democrat, polled one-third of the Democratic votes in spite of the machine. At the same time, all progressive forces were clear on the necessity for defeating Elliott Ness, Republican, in the final election. Again, the best campaigns and the greatest development of new alignments occurred in the council races, such as in Ward 30. In this largest ward of Cleveland, Albert Young, a Teamsters Union business agent, who is head of Labor's Joint Committee for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The depression was at its lowest point, discontent was at its height, and the men were clamoring for action. Santo took his time and waited. He waited for four years, and when he was ready the union's position was unassailable: in 1938 he forced the abrogation of the old pension plan, won a cash refund of $2,000,000 to the employes, and negotiated a new and sound pension plan totally financed by the company, a commitment which was assumed by the city when it took over the subway lines.

When the union first negotiated directly with the city in 1941, Board of Transportation members found themselves dealing with a man who knew as much or more than they did about the system they were running. It was Santo who confronted them with the facts and figures of the chaotic and anarchistic wage structure then in existence: rates of pay had been established on an individual basis over many years and there were discrepancies of as much as thirty cents an hour on a single job. He convinced them of the need for equal pay for equal work, and he showed them how to do it: he worked out the over-all formula by which it was eventually accomplished.

Between 1934 and 1941 the union cut the working day from twelve hours to eight, the working week from seven days to six. It won sick leave with pay, vacations with pay, and six yearly holidays with pay. It raised the wages of the lowest-paid workers by two hundred percent, increased the wages of all workers by at least one hundred percent, putting average weekly earnings at $65. It fought discrimination and won jobs for Negroes. It established a union medical plan, described as the best of its kind, with thirty-five general practitioners and fifteen specialists providing free treatment for every union member. It won a sound pension system. It established rigid seniority rules, and restored to seniority scores of oldtimers who had been victimized in the 1916 strike. The purely monetary benefits to union members, cash in their pockets, amounted to more than $100,000,000. And it achieved all of this without a strike.

BUT in 1941 tough John A. Ritchie of Fifth Avenue Coach and New York City Omnibus was not going to go along. Ritchie is a self-made man: he clawed his way up from a railroad worker to a transit boss, and in his working days had served as a scab and strikebreaker. In 1934 when he was head of the Chicago Motor Coach Company he hired strikebreakers against the AFL's Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes. Said Joseph J. Kehoe, head of the union: "They combed the dregs of the underworld to find enough local talent to perform one of the bloodiest strikebreaking jobs on record." Two men were killed, many injured. And there is still a company union in the Chicago Motor Coach Company.

"Who can I do business with there?" Ritchie demanded when the TWU appeared in New York. When he found this was a union not interested in a quiet deal, he decided to do it the rough way. He rejected all

---

Political Action, got 7,993 votes and lost the race by only 419 votes. In addition to electing three Negroes, Cleveland voters chose two women for the thirty-three-member City Council. In Canton, the incumbent mayor was reelected with labor's support. More significant of a new development, however, was the election of Esther M. Archer, Negro Democrat. She is the first Negro to be elected to City Council in that city.

Of great concrete significance is the high vote of the Progressive Party in Chicago. This party came into being in the judicial race. It received 110,000 straight votes, or sixteen percent of the total. Its leading candidate, Homer F. Carey, running for judge of Superior Court, polled over 300,000 votes and came within 20,000 of victory. Of great significance was the vote of Earl B. Dickerson, well-known Negro attorney who received over 200,000 votes and ran third on the Progressive Party ticket, and of Pearl Hart, outstanding woman attorney, who polled over 190,000 votes. Such a showing in machine-ruled Chicago is unprecedented. It has given an impetus to all who are working for a third party on a national scale. The suppression of the news of this development by most of the country's newspapers is testimony to its strength and potentialities.

ANOTHER significant feature in these elections was the relative lack of success of Red-baiting. The anti-Communist fraud was undoubtedly a factor in the repeal of PR in New York and in the defeat of two progressive candidates for the board of commissioners in Dayton, O. But much more can be cited on the other side. In Pittsburgh, for example, the Republicans made their bid for power on a slogan of "Kill Communism Today," and they got licked. Perhaps they thought that the fact that Rep. John McDowell, a Republican member of the Un-American Activities Committee, comes from Allegheny County would also help them. But their calculations fared badly. Not only did the GOP lose in Pittsburgh, but it was swept out of all offices in Allegheny County.

The Communist vote also indicates a rebuff to the Red-baiters. The vote for Anthony Krchmarek, candidate for the Cleveland school board, was 8,000 more than the Communists polled two years ago. Oleta O'Connor Yates, Communist chairman in San Francisco, polled 36,971 votes as candidate for supervisor. Otis A. Hood received 12,565 votes for the Boston school board. William Harrison, Negro Communist candidate for Council in Boston's Ward 12, polled twenty-five percent of the total vote. In New Jersey, the Communist nominee for state assembly doubled the previous vote. In a few places the Communists failed to conduct effective campaigns and the results were poor. The main campaigns, however, indicate that the Communists will be contributing in 1948 by conducting their own battles for certain offices while fully participating together with other progressives in the entire campaign.

While the results of the 1947 elections are far from conclusive, they do indicate the beginning of a reversal of the GOP trend in 1946. If this nascent reversal is to mature in 1948 and not become warped into support for reactionary Democrats, clearsighted organized efforts will be required. The 1947 balloting reveals possibilities for the third-party movement or a third-party type coalition. The struggles that will develop in the coming year around the main issues of domestic and foreign policy will be a major factor in developing a substantial progressive combination nationally to challenge the bipartisan incubus that holds the nation in its grip.—ARNOLD JOHNSON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

union demands and countered with his own: one-man operation of two-man buses, elimination of the sick benefit fund, and a straight wage cut for all employes.

This was the union's big test. It met it by conducting a strike that was a marvel of organization and discipline. The battle began at five o'clock on the morning of March 10, and for eleven days not a wheel turned. The leaders moved into the union hall and they worked around the clock. They maintained constant contact with picket lines spread over all the city. They fought the battle for public opinion with the newspapers and won it with the reasonableness of their position. They were patient with Mayor LaGuardia who at the beginning of the strike had openly sided with the company and had denounced the union as "bull-headed, obstinate and stupid." By strike's end he had a different notion. Two years later he was a guest speaker at a TWU convention, and the time came when he praised the abilities of John Santo as a labor leader. The strike was a clear victory for the union.

And tough John Ritchie nursed a grievance. He had not only failed to break the union; he had seen it grow stronger in a contest he had provoked. It would be a long day before he praised a labor leader; longer before he forgave John Santo. Mr. Ritchie is big, bluff and hearty. But he is a vindictive man, and after the bus strike John Santo was arrested and held for deportation.

When he resigned his post to fight the case, he tried to tell the convention delegates what the union had come to mean to him:

"I got the greatest privilege granted to a working man. Fate was kind to me when it made possible for me to be a leader and a servant of the transit workers of the city of New York and elsewhere. . . . I saw men working seven days a week, twelve hours a day, 365 days in the regular year and 366 in Leap Year. I saw men living like animals. . . . I feel like a little boy when I think that I had something to do in bringing to the transit workers the six-day week and the eight-hour day. . . .

"I feel so proud and happy when I meet a man who has a coat of tan on his face because he just came back from his vacation which he took with his wife and child; I can say to myself, 'John, old boy, you had something to do with that man having a vacation with pay. You, a little man, coming only from the people, had the rare privilege of helping to achieve that.' I feel proud and happy when I think of the fact that we have put into the pockets of the transit workers —all of us collectively, me helping along—one hundred million of American dollars.

"But beyond the money, we have planted in the hearts of these transit workers courage, decency, freedom and unionism that will stay there forever and a day."

LONG before the deportation case could be decided, the United States was in the war. A non-citizen could serve in the armed forces, but he had to file an affidavit with the War Department expressing his desire to do so. On June 16, 1942, Santo filed such an affidavit. The War Department stalled for two and a half months, but on Sept. 1, 1942, Santo was inducted into the Army and assigned to the infantry. The deportation proceedings were dropped and his bond was returned.

During the war an alien in the armed forces could automatically become a citizen simply by filing a formal application after thirty days' service. As soon as he was eligible, Santo filed such an application from Fort Dix, N. J. It was lost. Thereafter he filed applications repeatedly from every post at which he was stationed; none of them got through. Somewhere along the line he discovered that his service record had pasted into it, against Army regulations, a communication signed by a Director Watkins of the United States Immigration Service in New York to the effect that Santo was under deportation proceedings which were to be continued upon completion of his Army service.

At Camp Phillips, Kansas, a captain who was impressed by Santo's qualities as a man and as a soldier decided to forward personally Santo's application for citizenship. "Intelligence won't let me do a damned thing," he told Santo, "but I'll do it anyhow." He did. One week later Santo was transferred to the Overseas Replacement Depot at Shenango, Pa.

Shortly after Santo's arrival there, a captain walked into the Orderly Room one night and said to the Charge of Quarters, "Get me Sergeant Santo. I have orders from Washington that he is to be shipped immediately."

"I'm glad to hear that, Captain," said the CQ. "I'm Sergeant Santo."

And in violation of an Army regulation that only citizens were to be sent overseas from Shenango, Santo was shipped immediately.

He served a total of eighteen months in the Aleutians, first with the infantry and later, after all Japanese resistance had collapsed, with the Engineers. One of his commanding officers, now an architect in New Jersey, has recently written to him. "I'm sorry to see that the wind is blowing somewhat afoul for you," he said. "Should you need my testimony as to your service in the 349th Engineers, please feel free to call on me."

While Santo was stationed at Unmak, one of his numerous applications for citizenship almost got through. In company with several other men, he was about to raise his right hand and take the oath of citizenship when an Intelligence Officer interrupted the ceremony with the announcement that the Army's files on Santo were incomplete. That was as close as he ever got. Someone, somewhere, was very determined that John Santo should not become a citizen of the United States.

IN 1943, while Santo was overseas, the Transport Workers Union created the post of National Director of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Organization and the union's convention in that year unanimously elected him to the office. He was discharged from the Army on Sept. 22, 1945, filed another formal application for citizenship, and went to work at his new union job. Before the year was out he had successfully and peacefully negotiated a new and improved contract with the Fifth Avenue Coach Company.

He was unanimously reelected at the union's convention in 1946. During that year he participated in a two-day strike against the Philadelphia Transit Company which won a wage increase of eleven cents an hour; he led a strike in Akron, Ohio, which won a twelve-cent-an-hour increase; he led a strike in Columbus, Ohio, which won a fifteen-cent-an-hour increase. During the Columbus dispute vengeful John A. Ritchie compiled his own dossier on Santo, consisting largely of old Dies Committee charges that he was a Red, and forwarded it to the Columbus transit employers, who promptly used it in full-page newspaper advertisements with no noticeable effect upon the final outcome of the strike. From there Santo went to Louisville, Kentucky, where he directed a union organizational drive and negotiated a contract with a nineteen-cent-an-hour wage increase. Then on to New Orleans where he negotiated a straight fifteen percent boost. He returned to New York in time to participate in the Meyer Award negotiations which secured a sum of $18,500,000 to city transit workers in wage increases and retroactive pay. In 1947 he went back to Philadelphia and, peacefully this time, negotiated another thirteen-cent-an-hour increase and vacations with pay.

Clearly this was a dangerous man. Every time he sat down at a table opposite employers, it cost the employers money.

Early in September this year the transport union was involved in another conflict with the New York City Omnibus Corporation. An impartial arbitrator had ruled in favor of the union's demand for a pension plan financed by the company. Ritchie refused to accept the arbitrator's award and, playing for time, took the issue to court. The union took a strike vote and set a date for a walkout. In the midst of this developing battle John Santo, the union's kingpin in negotiations with the company, was rearrested in the once-dropped deportation case.

Ritchie's hope for long delays on the pension plan while the issue wound its slow way through the courts was upset when Supreme Court Justice Pecora in a quick decision ruled in favor of the union. Ritchie promptly appealed the case, and the union postponed its strike preparations on assurances from Mayor O'Dwyer that he would seek an immediate ruling from the Appellate Division.

Meanwhile the deportation proceedings continue, and in a huge, shabby, loft-like room in a federal building at 70 Columbus Avenue a sorry assortment of stoolpigeons, police informers, crackpots, provocateurs, turncoats and professional patriots whose love of country can be bought for a day's expenses have shuffled through the witness chair to testify that John Santo is a Communist.

In mid-September a conference of 200 local presidents and executive board members of the TWU met to form a Santo Defense Committee to fight the case. A delegate from the union's Power House Section summed up the transit workers' attitude: "They can holler 'Communist' all they want, but the real issue is bread and butter. Santo showed the way to take millions from the transit employers and give them to the workers. That's why they are out to get him." The conference adopted this slogan: "Santo Raised the Workers' Pay—Keep Him in the USA!"

BACK in 1941 just before the bus strike Santo spoke to the men who were about to walk out, and among other things he said this:

"The law of life is progress and progress means a change for the better. . . . It is our right and obligation to improve our standards of living for ourselves, so that we can leave as a heritage to our children more than we had when we were children. This is the way of civilization. This is the American way—striving to make the lot of each generation better than the previous one and making each year brighter than the past one. . . ."

Santo has lived his life according to that principle. Today it makes him an undesirable alien in the United States of America.

portside patter

By BILL RICHARDS

News Item: Scripps-Howard newspaper claims credit for relief "expose" in New York.

Shocking evidence of corruption and luxurious living in the city's relief setup has been uncovered by this reporter. New York's taxpayers are shelling out thousands of dollars a year to stuff some children with as many as two glasses of milk a day. One woman is actually brazen enough to collect her checks resplendently dressed in a genuine mouton coat with raccoon patches.

Investigators discovered that a family of twelve has been living for several weeks in a first-class hotel room on the Bowery. Many of those on the relief rolls are just too downright lazy to work. A ninety-three-year-old woman in perfect health has been on relief for more than two months without even trying to find a job.

The most shocking case of all is that of a man found supporting two women on relief funds. A person out of work should not be allowed the luxury of having his mother-in-law live with him.

Lieut. Duke Prince Earl Mountbatten's Navy pay has been increased by more than $15 a week following his marriage. The Princess will be glad to learn that her husband is bringing home the bacon even if she has to pay for everything else.

•

A Republican official says that although there hasn't been a GOP President in fifteen years the elephant never forgets. Neither should the voters.

•

Admiral Byrd stresses the importance of the Arctic in the event of another war. It will at least solve the problem of ice cubes for the officers' clubs.

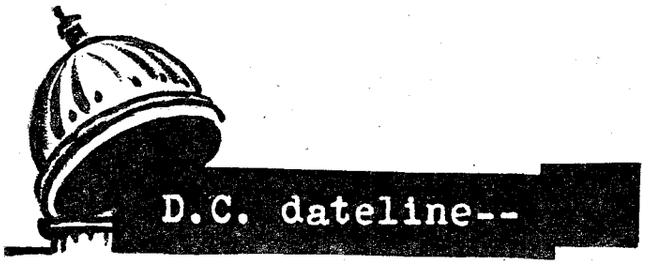
•

The list of announced candidates for the GOP nomination is growing steadily. Someone should explain that a blockhead is not necessarily presidential timber.

•

Hearst is starting his annual campaign against vivisection. His reasons for these yearly outbursts are purely personal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Emergency: Act II

Washington.

A FEW days before the President addressed the joint meeting of both houses which opened the special session of Congress, Rep. Christian A. Herter (R., Mass.) was testifying on his European findings before his colleagues on the Foreign Affairs Committee. After he had made clear the problems posed by his belief that the US just does not have commodities for export in the amounts promised Europe by Secretary Marshall, one committee member remarked plaintively: "I hope we can get away from these continuous emergencies soon, and back to the regular order of business."

The representative's complaint was indicative of the general attitude of Congress toward even the Marshall interim aid strategy. While there is no doubt that interim aid will be approved, Congress is suffering from that "We've-been-through-all-this-before" feeling. This concept dates back to the first Truman address to a joint session of Congress, in March, when the occasion was subsidies for the Greek and Turkish dictatorships.

But if the Presidential behavior is beginning to be reminiscent of the old story about the shepherd boy who cried "Wolf! Wolf!" there is no marked tendency to part company with the administration's charted course. The Republican majorities in both houses will vote for interim subsidies for Europe, although the total may be somewhat reduced from the $579,000,000 that the original State Department bill would have authorized.

Aside from his entrance and exit from the House floor, when he received the applause of the Democratic minority as titular head of his party, the President's speech was greeted with only five bursts of clapping, none of them sustained, and three of them very weak indeed. All of the applause was restricted to the first half of the speech, which dealt with the short- and long-range aspects of the Marshall strategy. Dead silence greeted the President's discussion of domestic issues and continued throughout his proposals for control of the commodity exchanges, credit, rent, the allocation of transportation facilities, exports and inventories. Another measure he asked has now been generally discredited in Washington as unworkable: the marketing of poultry and cattle at "weights and grades that represent the most efficient utilization of grain."

It now appears that this was thrown in purely as lagnappe by Secretary of Agriculture Anderson before he learned that price control and rationing were also to be requested by the President. Another of the ten points outlined by the President as necessary to combat the "inflation which stands as an ominous threat to the prosperity we have achieved" was a long-range conservation program for agriculture, and "measures designed to increase the production of foods in foreign countries."

But it was his linking of price control with the demand for a wage freeze that drew the only response from his Congressional audience. This came in the form of a gulp in the back benches that was audible even in the press galleries.

ALL in all, however, the general consensus on the speech is that the President was very "cute," in the old New England sense of the word, to couple his domestic program with the request for immediate passage of the interim European subsidy plan. For with Senator Vandenberg pledged to support of these short-term subsidies in advance, Truman did not endanger the immediate tactical course Marshall is following there and in London.

But on the domestic program, Senator Taft has already given flat notice that no price controls will be considered. In making this assertion for the Republican Congressional majority, Senator Taft seems to have overridden Senator Flanders of Vermont. Flanders, a sixty-seven-year-old freshman Senator appointed in 1946 to fill the unexpired term of Warren R. Austin when that worthy was appointed a US delegate to the UN, has emerged as one of Taft's few Republican challengers. While they are in basic agreement, of course, there is a slight rift between them over what should be done on inflation. Flanders and Taft are reported to have had a brisk passage during a Senate Republican caucus over whether Taft spoke for himself or the Republican party when he flatly rejected any controls that might at least slow down the inflationary spiral.

BUT if there is some slight disagreement within Republican ranks on aiding the American millions now suffering from the universe-encompassing greed of American monopolies, on certain other aspects of Truman's proposals there is complete unity, not only within Republican ranks, but among most Democrats as well.

One of these areas of agreement is on export controls, a proposal that seems innocuous enough until understood. Instituted during the war to prevent raw materials and finished commodities from reaching the enemy, export controls were extended until March 29 at the suggestion of Secretary of Commerce Harriman. Now they will probably be extended again. By means of these controls aviation gasoline is diverted to China's dictator-president, Chiang Kai-shek, for use against his own people. On the negative side, machine tools, mining machinery and other production commodities are prevented from being sold to the Soviet Union, a cash customer.

This contradicts the piously-professed aim of the Marshall strategy, which is to help those nations which seek to help themselves. And for those Congressmen who yearn, like their confrere, to "get back to the regular order of business," it is a strange introduction to the science of political economy, for which an NAM pamphlet used to be considered sufficient.

A. L. J.

HAVE YOU WRITTEN TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN?

Opposing the contempt citation of the Hollywood writers and directors Rep. Herman P. Eberharter (D., Pa.) declared: "We can support these citations or we can support the right of Americans to free speech. We cannot support both."

The Civil Rights Congress has called for a flood of letters, telegrams and petitions to Congress demanding passage of the Sabath resolution to abolish the Un-American Committee. Has your Congressman heard from you?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

review and comment

TELL ME, CONSCIENCE, WAS I WRONG?

An uneasy poet insists that he not be judged for his indifference to the cause of freedom.

By RALPH KNIGHT

TRIAL OF A POET AND OTHER POEMS, *by Karl Shapiro. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.*

KARL SHAPIRO's newest collection of verse is in three sections: an autobiographical group, "Recapitulations"; a more generalized group, "The Progress of Faust"; and a long poem, "Trial of a Poet." However, the whole is drawn together by a unity of theme: the relationship of the poet to society.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Shapiro's poetry normally begins in concrete observation. This accounts, in part, for his wide popularity, and at the same time it leads the poet into the necessity for significant comment, for "taking sides." In his earlier books, especially *Person, Place and Thing* (1942), there were sharp conflicts. Many of the poems showed an exceptional satirical power, implying a basis in moral decision; others drifted into the morass of "neutrality" to issues; some were frankly trial pieces. Such stinging poems as "University" and "Alexandria" were then matched against the glib "Waitress" and "Auto Wreck," for example.

Shapiro's major direction became plain in the later *V-Letter* (1944) and *Essay on Rime* (1945). Now in the present book he is in full cry against the conception of the artist as a socially responsible being. In particular, he scorns the extraordinary struggle of ordinary people for a better life. He joins the regimented brigades of the "free" with appalling frankness, though not without a bad, a very bad, conscience:

When nuns were spitted and poets fell
And Spain the medieval hell
Became our modern one as well
And I, a Hamlet, held my tongue,
Tell me, conscience, was I wrong?

His contempt for people knows no inhibition. Writing of the poet in uniform, he says:

The chief hell was stupidity, the vast
And national ignorance of the dividing line
Between the many and the few. He classed
The majority of his fellowmen as swine.

Unlike the others, he revered the bar
And eagle of authority.

One questions whether Shapiro has ever ceased "Practicing caste, perfecting the untruth of staking honor on the wish to please," which he admits occupied his youth.

Yet there is plentiful evidence that Shapiro understands the present-day world. He writes constantly of politics, as though seeking new ways of explaining his reasons for thinking as he does; it is not we who necessarily would judge him for his views, but rather he who forces us to by holding them before us all the time. This is evidence of tragic moral rot: Shapiro knows what he is doing and deliberately chooses to cast his lot with the philistine.

An unconvincing poem, "The Convert," tells of the "victory of the Unintelligence," the entrance of a man into the church hearing the "groan of positive science, hiss of friends." One feels that Shapiro's reasons are not adequate, that he has wandered into church to while away time:

. . . prays for mercy as the south wind blows,
And for all final sins that tip the scale.

And, truly, throughout *Trial of a Poet* there is an absence of deeply-felt experience. One of the best aspects of Shapiro's earlier writing was its sincerity of perception, the way his lines made things live with their textures and sounds and smells. Then it was attractively harsh, thoughtful, close. Now the drama of ideas is played against a background like a Hollywood movie: it is slick, superficial, the lines flowing one from the other smoothly and without check.

The title poem is a dialogue, evidently based in form on a close reading of Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, which Shapiro has elsewhere cited as a study for the craftsman. The Poet, a reasonable facsimile of Ezra Pound, is at the bar for a crime vaguely defined as "treason." A Public Officer, a Doctor, a Priest and a Chorus of Poets comment on his crime. The upshot of trial is that the Poet's only crime is desertion of the word (to which alone the Poet should be consecrated!) to enter into the common arena of mankind. None of the others can find adequate grounds on which to condemn him. As for the Chorus, it wails that the world is in crisis and ruin:

And still there is no clue to our decline
Except the evil evidence of evil.

The great revolutionary master who wrote *Samson Agonistes* put words into the mouth of his protagonist which many poets, including Shapiro, might profitably study for more than craftsmanship. They are certainly words written by one who understood hard, costly choices. When Delilah pleads weakness as her excuse for betraying him to the Philistines, Samson replies:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE IDEAL GIFT

The Touchstone Series

• Artists of the People •

THE UNKNOWN VANGOGH — 10 Drawings of Miners and Workers

PIETER BRUEGEL — 10 Engravings of Peasant Life

WILLIAM HOGARTH — 10 Engravings of Old England

portfolio 9x12 special **98c**

3 Portfolios Gift Package **2.70**

Large selection of Art Books, Domestic and French

TRIBUNE SUBWAY GALLERY

100 W. 42 St. (Sub. Arcade Downstairs)

ASK FOR CATALOGUE 232 pp., 59 color & 658 other reprod.

NATIONAL SERIGRAPH SOCIETY
The Artists' Cooperative at
SERIGRAPH GALLERIES
33 W. 57—NYC
on Exhibition Thru December
PICTURES for XMAS GIFTS
up to $12.00 and
GREETING CARDS
Hours 10-6 daily & Sat., Thurs. to 10

THE CONTEMPORARY SCHOOL OF ART
Fine Arts, Illustration, Commercial Art
• Philip Evergood • Moses Soyer
• Lewis Daniel • Louis Goland
Day - Evening - Saturdays
Approved for Veterans
846 FLATBUSH AVENUE
Brooklyn 26 (near Church Ave.)
IN 2-2116 NA 8-8041

Paintings by
Lena Gurr
December 1-20
ACA GALLERY, 61-63 E. 57th St.
10-6 Daily and Sat., Wed. until 9

NEW MASSES

Classified Advertisements

50¢ a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge $1.50. Approx. 7 words to a line.

Deadline, Fri., 4 p.m.

INSURANCE

LEON BENOFF, serving a satisfied clientele since 1919, with every kind of insurance, including LIFE INSURANCE. 391 East 149th St., N. Y. Call ME 5-0984.

CARL BRODSKY—Any kind of insurance including Automobile, Fire, Life, Compensation, etc. 799 Broadway, N. Y. C. Tel. GR 5-3826.

EYE CARE

EUGENE STEIN, Optometrist—Eye examinations—Glasses Fitted—Visual Training. Room 507, 13 Astor Place (140 East 8th St.), N. Y. 3. GRamercy 7-0930.

CUSTOM BUILT PHONOS

Are you a discriminating listener? Have your phonograph or phonoradio built by self-exploiting skilled Radio Engineer. WA 7-7187.

PIANOS RECONDITIONED

Why buy a new piano at today's inflated prices? Let us recondition your old one. Original tone and touch restored. Ralph J. Appleton, 157 East 56th St., Brooklyn 3, New York. DIckens 6-5777. MUrray Hill 2-3757.

. . . weakness is thy excuse,
And I believe it, weakness to resist
Philistian gold: if weakness may excuse,
What Murtherer, what Traytor, Parricide,
Incestuous, Sacrilegious, but may plead it?
All wickedness is weakness: that plea therefore
With God or Man will gain thee no remission.

Books for Children

THIS season brings to the children's book world many volumes worthy of attention. A wealth of material is available for all children, from the youngest ready to hear his first stories to the teen-ager eager to explore the roots of current problems. Many books have been sifted for this brief survey; those mentioned below are the best this reviewer has seen in their treatment of everyday life, facts, folklore, humor and history of the United States and other countries.

Among the books presenting daily life is the welcome anthology compiled by the Child Study Association of America, READ-TO-ME STORYBOOK, illustrated by Lois Lenski (Crowell, $2), for children from two to six. Its thirty stories and eleven poems, some old favorites and others freshly written, revolve about the familiar cats and dogs and rain and sunshine as well as room-lights and meeting Dad. For the young child just measuring his powers, THE SMART LITTLE BOY AND HIS SMART LITTLE KITTY, by Louise Woodcock, illustrated by Lucienne Bloch (Scott, $1.25), cleverly brings out the similarities and differences between the child and his pet. SURPRISE FOR DAVY, by Lois Lenski (Oxford, $1), features a young birthday party with an extra treat in the naming of the many children present, but misses an opportunity to show the possible variety in their backgrounds. For the school-age child ANDY AND THE SCHOOL BUS, by Jerrold Beim, illustrated by Leonard Shortall (Morrow, $2), is a handsome picture book that catches the anticipation of the first bus ride to school. WHITE SNOW, BRIGHT SNOW, by Alvin Tresselt, illustrated by Roger Duvoisin (Lothrop, $2), follows the panorama of winter, a season somehow neglected in picture books.

For children over eight, there is an unusually warm story. Anne Molloy's THE PIGEONEERS, illustrated by Elizabeth Converse (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50), treats a children's ward in an orthopedic hospital where a bed near the window is the object of everyone's fondest desire—to watch the pigeons.

For the same age group, happy family life is represented by the rollicking TROLLEY CAR FAMILY, by Eleanor Clymer (McKay, $2), as they make a trolley home. For high-school boys, ANCHOR MAN, by Jesse Jackson, with pictures by Doris Spiegel (Harper, $2) and BERTIE COMES THROUGH, by Henry Gregor Felsen, illustrated by Joan Toan (Dutton, $2.50), will both ring bells. ANCHOR MAN, the sequel to CALL ME CHARLEY of two years ago, is topnotch as a sports story in which delicate problems of race relations are unraveled. The reality of the situation, sincerity and clipped style pack a terrific wallop. For girls of the same age SUGAR AND SPICE, by Lorraine Beim (Harcourt Brace, $2.50), brings the woman question into modern juvenile literature for the first time. Rebuffed when she finds that family funds can permit only her brother to go to college Anne Coleman does some probing and emerges with an immediate solution and a healthy general vista that commands attention. The background for the struggle for women's rights in our country appears in this season's biography of SUSAN B. ANTHONY, by Florence H. Bryan, illustrated by Ericka Weihs (Messner, $2.75). Joseph Gollomb has contributed a controversial book, WINDOW ON THE WORLD (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50), significant because it is the first problem story for teen-agers to emphasize the necessity for international unity and associate it with neighborhood life. Many aspects of the story seem contrived, however, and the characters never actually come to life.

Several good fact books are at hand. THE GROWING STORY, by Ruth Kraus, with pictures by Phyllis Rowand (Harper, $1.75), for young children, likens a child's growth to the animal and plant growth he can observe around him. Mary Elting's TRAINS AT WORK, a companion book to TRUCKS AT WORK (Garden City, $1) is crammed with details about all kinds of trains, their uses and the lingo that has grown up around them—for children (especially boys) from five to eight. For young teen-agers, THE INSECT WORLD, by Hilda

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T. Harpster, illustrated by Zhenya Gay (Viking, $3), is an agreeable presentation of insect characteristics, habits and homes. MAN'S WAY: FROM CAVE TO SKYSCRAPER, by Ralph and Adelin Linton (Harper, $2.50), is sane junior anthropology, tracing man's development to the threshold of the atomic age, and the need for all races to help build man's future. Harry Granick's UNDERNEATH NEW YORK (Rhinehart, $3) is a fascinating account of the evolution and physiology of the modern city, describing all the services that lie beneath the city, the sewers, pipes and cables that help make it tick. It has the definite advantage of being written for adults as well as children. A trio of fact books are HOW MAN DISCOVERED HIS BODY, by Sarah R. Riedman, illustrated by Frances Wells (International, $2.25), HOW MUCH AND HOW MANY, by Jeanne Bendick (Whittlesey House, $1.75), and Jerome Meyer's PICTURE BOOK OF ATOMS AND MOLECULES (Lothrop, Lee and Shepard, $2).

THERE are a few memorable collections of folktales for children about eight: THE CHILD'S BOOK OF FOLKLORE, edited by Marion V. Emrich and George Korson (Dial, $2.75), the first representative selection from the whole field of traditional American folklore of, by and for children, contains folksongs and ballads, beliefs and customs, rhymes, games and a handful of folk tales. MORE TALES FROM GRIMM, freely translated and illustrated by the late Wanda Gag (Coward, McCann, $2.75), has humor, whimsicality and matchless drawings, many of these only sketches which were never fully developed. Also posthumous, RUSSIAN TALES FOR CHILDREN, told by Alexei Tolstoy (Dutton, $2.50), is a uniquely vital collection thanks to its choices, crisp telling and infinite detail. It is absorbing to compare some of these stories with versions already familiar to our children and notice the different changes that another culture has produced. STONE SOUP is a humorous old tale retold by Marcia Brown (Scribner, $2) and built around the cool reception three soldiers back from the wars got from French peasants until they mentioned their recipe for stone soup.

There are only a few examples of rich children's humor in the books examined: for young children CURIOUS GEORGE TAKES A JOB, by H. A. Rey (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.50) leads the mischievous monkey into a new series of hilarious adventures; BAMBINO THE CLOWN, by

ANNOUNCING

A New Masses Book-Buying Service

FROM time to time NM has received requests, especially from readers outside of New York, for help in securing books reviewed in these pages. We were glad to have been of occasional service to these readers, and we are happy to announce that we are now prepared to offer an unlimited book-buying service to all our readers. Any book of any publisher, whether reviewed by NM or not, can now be obtained from us at list price.

Especially now, as you make up your Christmas lists, we invite you to do your book-buying through us. Since we are able to get the books at a slight discount, we will make a few cents on each book—and every few cents toward that $15,000 deficit (see page 3) is all to the good.

At this writing we cannot guarantee to get every book you might want to you in time for Christmas. However, of the hundreds that are immediately available we list below a representative selection that we think would make good presents. We will ship any of them either to you or direct to anyone you name. If we hear from you by December 8, the chances are better than very good that they will get to any address in the US by December 25. If requested, we will enclose a Christmas card for you.

Of course a sub to NM also makes a Grade-A Christmas present. For that reason we give below our combined book-and-sub offers as well as the regular list price on each book. The book and sub may be sent to different people or the books may, of course, be bought separately.

Reduction made from subscription rate (regularly $6 a year), not book list price.

	List Price	Comb. Price
ART AND SOCIETY..... by Sidney Finkelstein	$2.75	$8.00
RUSSIA, THE GIANT THAT CAME LAST ..... by Joshua Kunitz	5.00	9.75
CLARKTON ..... by Howard Fast	2.75	8.00
THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION IN CHINA..... by Israel Epstein	3.50	8.50
THE GENTLE BUSH ..... by Barbara Giles	3.50	8.50
KNOCK ON ANY DOOR.. by Willard Motley	3.00	8.25
KINGSBLOOD ROYAL.... by Sinclair Lewis	3.00	8.25
STALIN MUST HAVE PEACE by Edgar Snow	2.50	7.75
THE DARK SHIP ..... by Richard O. Boyer	2.75	8.00
MAN AGAINST MYTH... by Barrows Dunham	2.75	8.00
LITERATURE AND ART... by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels	1.85	7.50
SCIENCE AND IDEALISM. by Maurice Cornforth	2.50	8.00
WHAT IS LIFE?..... by J. B. S. Haldane	3.00	8.25
SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR ..... by the Dean of Canterbury	3.00	8.25
MOTHER ..... by Maxim Gorky	2.50	8.00
HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE U.S. by Philip S. Foner	3.75	8.75
GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT by Laura Hobson	2.75	8.00
BEST SHORT STORIES OF MAXIM GORKY	2.75	8.00
THE OLD COUNTRY..... by Sholem Aleichem	3.00	8.25
COMPOSING FOR THE FILMS ..... by Hanns Eisler	3.00	8.25
PICASSO: FIFTY YEARS OF HIS ART ..... by Alfred H. Barr, Jr.	6.00	10.25
SIN AND SCIENCE. .... by Dyson Carter	.98	6.75
WORLD MONOPOLY AND PEACE ..... by James S. Allen	2.50	8.00
THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN THEATER.. by Edith J. R. Isaacs	3.50	8.50

Add 50c for Canadian, $1 for Foreign Postage

PRODUCED BY.UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TALK ABOUT CULTURAL VALUES!

Millions of people paid out $3.50, $2.75, $3.00 for "best sellers" like *Gus the Great. The Egg and I, The Moneyman,* and other "literary" creations turned out by prominent publishing houses.

But 12,500 wise and lucky people who learned the magic word

MAINSTREAM

paid only $2, in 1947, for 4 issues of this new Marxist literary quarterly, containing 512 pages, which included:

14 SHORT STORIES by Thomas Bell, Howard Fast, Ben Field, Stefan Heym, Lance Jeffers, Meridel Le Sueur, Alexander Saxton, Wilma Shore, and others;

1 COMPLETE NOVELETTE by Anna Seghers;

17 ESSAYS by Herbert Aptheker, Walter Bernstein, Arnaud d'Usseau, Sidney Finkelstein, Roger Garaudy, Milton Howard, Charles Humboldt, John Howard Lawson, Samuel Sillen, Theodore Ward, and others;

30 POEMS by Milton Blau, Nicolas Guillen, Langston Hughes, Millard Lampell, Thomas McGrath, Eve Merriam, Edwin Rolfe, Isidor Schneider, Dalton Trumbo, and others;

Besides DRAWINGS, REVIEWS, COMMUNICATIONS, ART NOTES, by Gwendolyn Bennett, Joseph Bernstein, Philip Evergood, Morris U. Schappes, and many, many others.

INCOMPARABLY

THE FINEST CHRISTMAS GIFT YOU CAN GIVE IS A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO

MAINSTREAM

Single copies, starting in 1948, will be 60c. Subscriptions remain $2.00. And the Editors will enclose a gift card informing the recipient that you are the donor. Send in your list of gift subs and check to cover today to:

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

NEW MASSES PRESENTS . . .

JAMES S. ALLEN

who will speak on

"THE CHALLENGE OF THE MARSHALL PLAN"

THURSDAY,
DECEMBER 11
8:30 p.m.

HOTEL DIPLOMAT
108 West 43rd St.
N. Y. C.

ENTERTAINMENT . . . WATCH FOR DETAILS NEXT WEEK

GREGORY PECK · DOROTHY McGUIRE · JOHN GARFIELD

Gentleman's Agreement

BRANDT'S **MAYFAIR** 7th Ave. & 47th St.

20th CENTURY-FOX

Georges Schreiber (Viking, $2), a quiet story which yields the clown's secret to a little boy distraught because he lost his hat, and Hazel Dannecker's FISHERMAN SIMMS, with pictures by Margaret Bradfield (Abingdon-Cokesbury, $1.50), an appealing story of a fisherman who moved closer and closer to his fishing hole only to find how much he needed human warmth. For children about eight MCELLIGOT'S POOL (Random House, $2.50), written and illustrated by the inimitable Dr. Seuss, is a superb mixture of nonsense and fantasy.

Following a pattern of many years, books on America's past are numerous. For children eight or slightly older, JARED'S ISLAND, by Marguerite de Angeli (Doubleday, $2.50), traces the fortunes of an English lad shipwrecked off the Jersey Coast in the 1760's, while AT THE SIGN OF THE GOLDEN ANCHOR, by Ruth L. Holberg (Doubleday, $2.25), pictures the social milieu of New England in the days of the War of 1812. THE LOST VIOLIN, by Clara I. Judson (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.25), is a mild mystery story revolving around a Bohemian family just settling in Chicago of 1892, and Lois Lenski's JUDY'S JOURNEY describes the daughter of a migratory worker, reminiscent of BLUE WILLOW many years ago. For older children there are three outstanding books in this area. Katherine B. Shippen's THE GREAT HERITAGE (Viking, $3.50) is an inspired volume which sings of the good American earth and its abundant resources from its mountains and valleys to its corn and furs, and their development by Americans who lived before us and the hope for the future: "But perhaps our new work and our new achievement will not be altogether with natural things. Perhaps we shall be working with the people themselves, trying to make every man who draws his living from the American earth healthy and strong and free." BUCKSKIN BRIGADE, by Jim Kjelgaard (Holiday House, $2.50), is an interesting companion volume treating little-known early American pioneers and their heroic feats. An unusual and captivating story is May McNeer's GOLDEN FLASH, with color illustrations by Lynd Ward (Viking, $3). The glowing gold and scarlet fire engine stolen from New York City in 1858 is caught up in a series of adventures that cut through these years of American history until it settles down in the California of 1860.

Only a few good stories touch other countries. TRUMPETS IN THE WEST, by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the English writer Geoffrey Trease (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50), is a story of the England after Cromwell with striking contemporary feeling and content. The hero is a music student under Purcell who partakes in the political struggles of his time. Nina Brown Baker's WILLIAM THE SILENT (Vanguard, $2.50) is the latest in the series of biographies of emancipators of other lands who struggled for their people's liberation, this time the Netherlands. ADVENTURE IN RUSSIA: THE GHOST OF KIRGHIZIA, by Ruth E. Kennell, illustrated by J. C. Wonsetler (Messner, $2.50), is a book of living history, yet overflows with legend and adventure and registers the urgency of better understanding between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

CLARA OSTROWSKY.

FILMS OF THE WEEK

DUDLEY NICHOLS made a fine screenplay of Eugene O'Neill's *The Long Voyage Home* some years ago. Now he has written, directed and produced *Mourning Becomes Electra,* one of O'Neill's longer works (at the Golden). The picture is three hours of boredom. The play itself wants reevaluation. When it was produced in 1931 its Freudian interpretation was a novelty, and the theme based on Aeschylus' tragedy, *Oresteia,* seemed a profound departure for an American playwright. Now it seems as dead as Clyde Fitch.

It is discomfiting to see the evidence unreel. The proud, incestuous Mannons, playing out their love-murders and guilt-suicides, run the full scale of grand passion. The actors, it should be noted, contribute so vigorously that the tragedy fitfully comes to life, particularly in the intense expression of Katina Paxinou as Christine and Michael Redgrave as Orin. The major emotional scenes of the picture sway precariously on the edge of embarrassment. Some of the shallower vessels in my audience couldn't contain Miss Paxinou's suicide scene and tittered stupidly. Their foolish reaction is almost justified in the face of the melodramatic cliches of O'Neill's play. The dramatic carpentry is appalling: new characters inevitably make their first entrance to a "Here-he-comes-now" line; nobody exits naturally, but has to be dismissed with a "I-want-to-talk-to-Lavinia-alone" line. The characters have presentments of coming events. The barrenness of poetry in O'Neill is forced on your attention, and twice in the picture there occurs the trademark of film pot-boilers, "What are you driving at?" If Mr. Nichols will produce one instance of this line being uttered by a non-fictional person, I will see what he is driving at.

The film is markedly uncharacteristic of Nichols' work. It is not cinematic, but a stage play filmed. The facade of the neo-Greek Mannon house in a New England seaport was a necessary stage set, but to employ it for most of the background of a motion picture is unnecessary reverence for the original. Nichols' admiration for O'Neill has obviated his slight chance to make a good motion picture. A dramatist conveys by onstage speech and suggestion all the things he cannot bring to the stage because of physical limitations, but a screenwriter may go any place. Nichols takes little advantage of this virtue of film. He does not show the hostile village, which figures ominously in the theme, nor does he write in an episode of Orin and Lavinia on the Blessed Isles of the South Sea, which might have offered a better entr'act than the unfortunate haunted house episode, which he introduces in the manner of the grave-digging scene in *Hamlet.* The picture is only half the length of O'Neill's trilogy, but you can't notice it. Several blessed minutes could have been cut by taking out shots of the actors looking up at the accusing family portraits and uttering another classic banality of mood pictures, "Why do you look at me that way?"

The players work earnestly and sometimes with exciting effect. Nichols can take credit directorially for catching major emotions, such as the last ringing cry of Miss Paxinou, in which *Mourning Becomes Electra* reaches the effect to which it aspires. But the simpletons were giggling in the audience.

It may be difficult for Dudley Nichols to swallow this defeat of three years' sincere work. He was trying to make the magnum opus of his illustrious career. I hope he can take it better than D. W. Griffith took the mountainous flop, *Intolerance,* which finished Griffith as a film artist. For Dudley Nichols there is a Greek proverb, "Failure in a

Science & Society

Established 1936

VOLUME XI, NUMBER 4,
FALL 1947

BERNARD SHAW'S SOCIALISM *E.J. Hobsbawm*
PLANNING FOR SOCIALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA *Pierre George*
MISSISSIPPI RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEGRO LEADER, CHARLES CALDWELL *Herbert Aptheker*

BOOK REVIEWS

Paul Sweezy on *Soviet Foreign Trade;* Kenneth May on *Economic Policy and Full Employment;* John Lewis on *Man Against Myth;* Mildred Burgum on *Modern Woman: The Lost Sex;* Samuel Bernstein on *Critics and Crusaders;* Frederic Ewen on *The Black Book;* Louis Weisner on *The Path of Science;* Alfred Evenitsky on *Modern Korea.*

Subscribe Now

QUARTERLY, $1.50 (FOUR ISSUES)

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY
30 East 20th Street, New York 3, N. Y.
English Representatives: COLLET'S Ltd., 9, Southampton Place, London W.C. 1

AMERICAN PREMIERE
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29
A lusty comedy-musical of Russia today!
"THE WINNER"
An Artkino Picture
plus
MOSCOW ART PLAYERS
in
"LOWER DEPTHS"
An adaptation of M. Gorki's masterpiece
EXCLUSIVE:
Joris Ivens' "INDONESIA CALLING"
STANLEY 7th Av., bet. 41st & 42d. WI 7-9686
Doors Open 8:45 A.M.

"Only the French could make a comedy from the theme of a farm-girl's seduction."—CUE.
RAIMU in
'THE WELL-DIGGER'S DAUGHTER'
Plus "SPECTER OF THE ROSE"
Irving Place Irving Pl. at 15 St. GRamercy 5-6975

There Is Only One
RUSSIAN SKAZKA
RESTAURANT
227 WEST 46th ST. • CI 6-7957

plum point
vacation fun, year round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We invite you up for
THANKSGIVING WEEKEND
4 enjoyable days of entertainment
$35.50
Arrowhead
☆ BETTY SANDERS
Folksinger
☆ FONER'S ORCHESTRA
Reservations: Arrowhead Lodge
Ellenville, N. Y. — Tel. 502-3

Camp Beacon
Beacon, N. Y. Beacon 1700
ONLY ONE HOUR FROM NEW YORK CITY
Now truly a Winter Wonderland with modern steam-heated hotel accommodations — wonderful food—complete recording library —game rooms—music rooms—and restful "lounge around" rooms.
Plus
SKATING IN OUR NEW RINK—SKIING
TOBOGGANING—HIKING
CULTURAL PROGRAMS — DANCING
Write or Call Our New York Office
33 Union Square W. SP 7-2223

Yours! THE PERFECT CHRISTMAS VACATION!
Full Entertainment Staff
All Winter Sports
Ice Skating on Premises
Reservations Dec. 24th—Jan. 4th
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
CHESTERS ZUNDARG
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

The WOODLANDS
PHOENICIA, N. Y.
Reopening for the Xmas-New Year Holidays on Dec. 24th
Open fireplace and culinary goodies to assuage that outdoor appetite whetted by skiing, skating, sledding and marvelous hiking country.
N. Y. Phone: BOulevard 8-1461
SIGGIE GOLDNER
68-36 108th St., Forest Hills, N. Y.

HOTEL ALLABEN
Jack Schwartz, Prop.
Make Reservations Now for
THANKSGIVING WEEKEND
• LAURA DUNCAN • AL MOSS
• ELI MINTZ
501 Mammouth Ave., Lakewood, N. J.
LAkewood 6-0819, 6-1222

great enterprise is at least a noble fault." I hope he can forget it.

"BODY AND SOUL," at the Globe, is a swell fight picture. It's a dirty racket and nobody is ever going to do anything about it but make artistic films on the pawn in the ring, the rooks in the corners, and the white and black queens maneuvering for the pawn. James Wong Howe is my idea of a cameraman. He got on roller skates, clutched an Eimo, and shot the big fight sequence while being pushed around amid the flying leather. Mr. Howe's travels are tremendously successful. Canada Lee takes excellent advantage of an opportunity to create a full-dimensional Negro character.

"HEAVEN ONLY KNOWS": Guess what, they made another picture about the heavenly messenger coming down to arrest a mislaid soul. Let's see, that makes Number 17. Stay home and read Charles Erskine Scott Wood's *Heavenly Discourse.*

"DOWN TO EARTH": Guess what, Rita Hayworth is a heavenly messenger in this one. Stay home and read Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger.*

WE USED to play a game of puns on *Forever Amber.* What's the electrician's book? Answer, Forever Ampere. What's the Soviet foreign trade book? Answer, Forever Amtorg. You, too, can play. What's the picture made from Miss Kathleen Winsor's book? Answer, Forever Hambo.

THE Italians laughed *Life With Father* off the stage with the comment that they couldn't be bothered with plays based on the plot of whether a grown man was to be baptized or not. *Viva Italia!*

PARAMOUNT ran a euphemistic congress to ballyhoo the DeMille lithograph *The Unconquered.* Everybody came and got drunk and tried to think up new superlatives for the film. My entry, "The Unconscionable," lost.

DENNIS GOBBINS.

THEATER

THE production of Euripides' *Medea,* in the eloquent adaptation by Robinson Jeffers, is the event of this theater season. Judith Anderson gives a memorable performance, managing to be both the hieratic figure that Greek drama, as religious ritual, required, and a suffering and impassioned woman. Nor was Miss Anderson's performance disproportionate, though even John Gielgud, as Jason, was overborne by its fierce vitality and only Florence Reed, as the nurse, attained any comparable fulfillment in her role. For, like most of the Greek tragedies, the *Medea* keeps its main character constantly to the fore. Ben Edwards' setting kept the level high in that part of the production. The dourly looming portico of Medea's house gave appropriate mood as well as background to the tragedy.

Some of the elements that made Euripides' work an end as well as a culmination of the Greek drama are to be seen in the *Medea.* We must bear in mind that the Greek plays were originally presented during an ancient Holy Week, the festival of Dionysus, and were performed as a religious rite. That function of the drama is clear in Aeschylus, where ritual dignity suffuses the action. It was tempered in Sophocles by innovations in form, the addition of characters to heighten dramatic conflict, the reduction of the choruses and rhythmic variation. In Euripides the development is in content. Pressed any further Greek drama could not possibly have remained a religious function. That is probably why there was no Greek dramatist after Euripides. In the new content the traditional sense of the human being as the helpless instrument of his own fate gives way to a sense of personality and will. The individual emerges.

In this Euripides was expressing a decisive development in Greek society. By its defeat of the Persians, Greece, despite its division into separate and rival city-states, had become an international power. The Greek city, particularly Athens, had become a metropolis. The gods and the manners of the comparatively isolated and self-contained community of the past were no longer suitable to the fuller and more varied life of the cosmopolitan city into which it had grown.

Euripides echoed a general challenge to the old parochial faith, a challenge that was the essence of the teachings of the sophists. In his plays the paradoxes implicit in humanly weak gods and petty supermen were acknowledged in hardly-veiled satire. We have this skeptical new attitude in the *Medea* in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

withering portrayal of Jason—the Hero reduced to cad, as he actually was in the terms of his own myth.

Politically the new international position of the Greek states brought a rush for empire among them. The contest brought Greek society to ruin, as the similar contest among the powers, in our time, has devastated Europe. And just as the perception of this tragic error and of the curative need for human brotherhood filled the public statements and the writing of the major European writers of our time, so too in Athens.

Euripides was what we would call a humanist today. We know that he opposed the war party, that he defied the Athenian hundred-percenters, and that this stand isolated him. All surviving references to Euripides stress his loneliness. Hostility to the aged dramatist finally became so menacing that, at the age of seventy-six, he fled to Thrace.

Expressions of this humanist feeling are to be found in the *Medea.* We hear it in the contempt voiced toward the Greek racial arrogance which dismissed the rest of humanity as barbarians, and shut off culture as a Greek monopoly. And how caustically the empty bravery of the warrior is put to scorn in Medea's contrast of the ordeal of childbirth!

But what accounts most for the power of the *Medea,* and constitutes Euripides' most important contribution to the theater, is his psychological insight, his awareness, among other things, of the terrible force of the individual will when released from social restraints. He had seen examples of it in his own time, in the destroying and self-destructive careers of men like Alcibiades. In this respect the imperial age of Greece resembles the Renaissance in its politics and capitalism in its "free enterprise."

Euripides' *Medea* is human will in destructive individual motion. In her love affair with Jason Medea had cut herself off from her own community in Colchis. Rejected by the Greek community in Corinth as a barbarian, there was only the thread of Jason's love to keep her from hysterical alienation. When that was cut she reached the limits of human fury—a rejected woman's murder of her own children to deprive their father, a plunge into murder to inflict it. Few works in all literature treat this theme with comparable understanding and power.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

new masses special

Xmas Gift

SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

26 WEEK GIFT SUB $2

(FOR NEW READERS ONLY, EXPIRES DEC. 31, 1947)

You may also send Annual Subscription Gifts at the following rates: 1 annual sub, $6; 2 annual subs, $10; 3 annual subs, $14.)

To NEW MASSES
104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed find $.....

Please send Xmas gift subscription to

Name .....
Address .....
City..... Zone..... State.....
☐ 26 weeks ☐ 1 year

Name .....
Address .....
City..... Zone..... State.....
☐ 26 weeks ☐ 1 year

Name .....
Address .....
City..... Zone..... State.....
☐ 26 weeks ☐ 1 year

Send Gift Card from

Name .....
Address .....
City..... Zone..... State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTISTS & WRITERS BALL

meet your favorites

dance to the music of

FRANKIE NEWTON AND HIS EXCITING NEW BAND

new masses 36th annual

ARTISTS & WRITERS BALL

tickets on sale at

BOOKFAIR, 133 W. 44th ST.; WORKERS BOOK-SHOP, 50 E. 13th ST.; JEF-FERSON BOOKSTORE, 575 SIXTH AVE.; LOCAL 65 BOOKSTORE, 13 ASTOR PLACE; NEW MASSES, 104 E. 9th ST.

DEC. 6th

admission prices

WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th St.

$1.20 in advance; $[illegible] door;
$2.00 per couple in advance.
(Tax included in all rates.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED